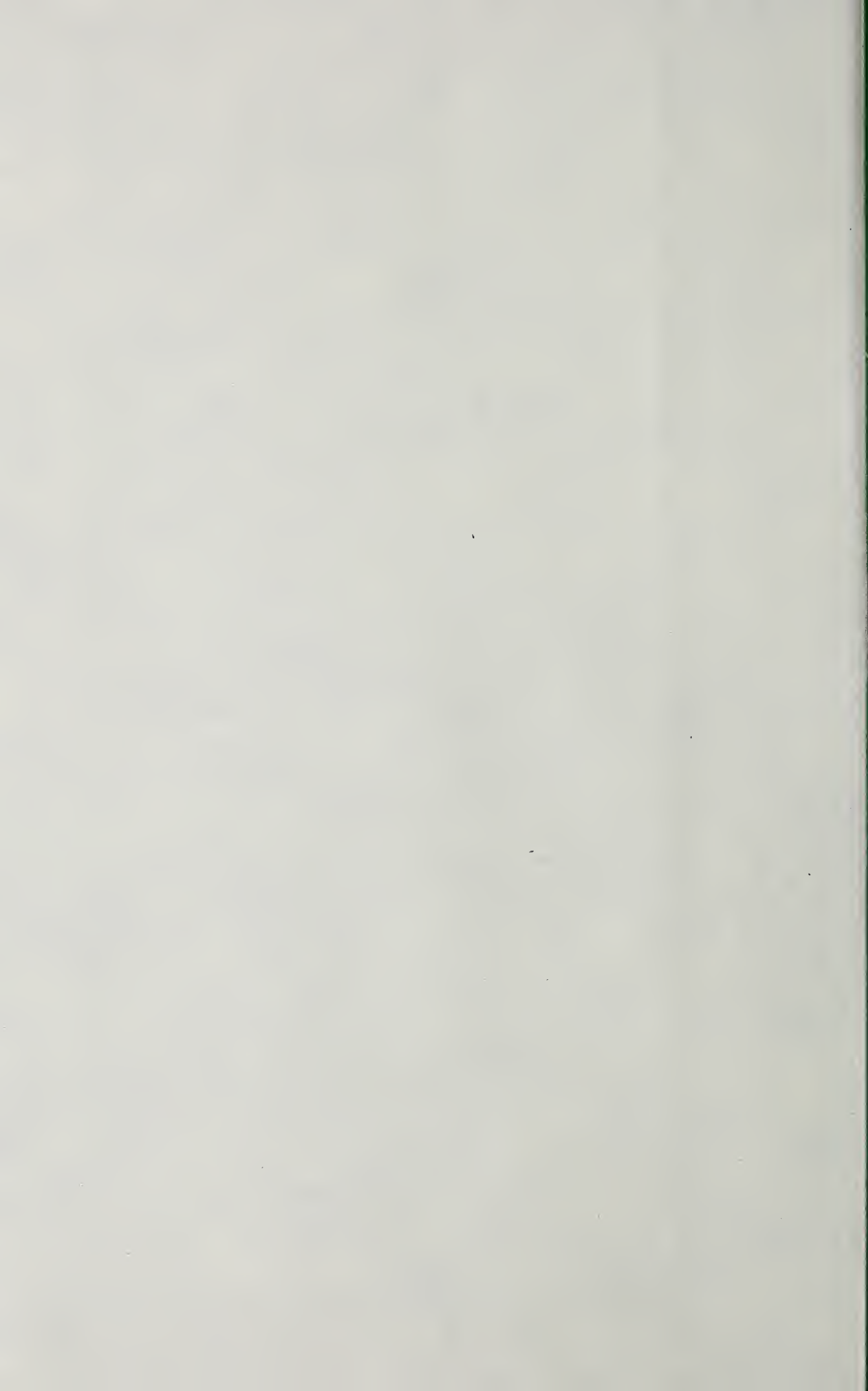




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STUDIES

IN
THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

The Jesuit College

*A Center for Knowledge, Art, and Faith
1548-1773*

LUCE GIA

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THE SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

The Seminar is composed of a number of Jesuits appointed from their provinces in the United States.

It concerns itself with topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially United States Jesuits, and communicates the results to the members of the provinces through its publication, *STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS*. This is done in the spirit of Vatican II's recommendation that religious institutes recapture the original inspiration of their founders and adapt it to the circumstances of modern times. The Seminar welcomes reactions or comments in regard to the material that it publishes.

The Seminar focuses its direct attention on the life and work of the Jesuits of the United States. The issues treated may be common also to Jesuits of other regions, to other priests, religious, and laity, to both men and women. Hence, the journal, while meant especially for American Jesuits, is not exclusively for them. Others who may find it helpful are cordially welcome to make use of it.

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THE JESUIT COLLEGE

A Center for Knowledge, Art, and Faith
1548–1773

Luce Giard

Translated by Brian Van Hove, S.J.

STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY
OF JESUITS

40/1 • SPRING 2008

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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Dear Mr. [Name]:

Very truly yours,

Robert M. [Name]

STUDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

the first word . . .

Since 1896 the *New York Times* has proudly displayed the motto "All the News That's Fit to Print," much to the table-thumping outrage of many of the venerable brethren who take exception to its political positions. (No, father, the earth is not flat. Get over it!) Despite its eminence as a news-gathering organization, even the *Times* experiences a slow news day once in a while. As a result, the editors and compositors have to search through archives to resurrect killed stories and features to fill its pages with enough good, gray print to provide a suitably ponderous setting for advertisers. On days such as this, the motto might be revised to read, "All the News That Fits We Print."

Occasionally this process produces a gem. Several months ago someone at the *Times* dug up a wonderful feature story about New York lawyers. It seems some of them were trying to impress judges, prosecutors, and juries by peppering their language with an occasional Yiddish word or phrase, as though this proved their New York street smarts and gave them admission to some secret society. The only problem was that, more often than not, these high-powered attorneys from around the country, who had mastered both Legalese and Waspese during their years in the Ivy League, literally didn't know what they were talking about. The phrase that drew laughs during a Mel Brooks movie might very well have connotations that opposing attorneys and judges, whose upbringing placed them closer to the immigrant experience, understood all too well. The *Times* reporter mentioned several instances of red-faced attorneys having to apologize after being admonished and threatened with contempt for using language unsuited to their profession and to the dignity of the court. Even the examples that the *Times* cited in coy paraphrase as appropriate for a newspaper that prides itself on its standards of propriety might not be suitable in a clerical journal dedicated to spirituality. STUDIES will refrain from presenting the quotations, but readers are invited to use their imaginations.

Let's not be too hard on the lawyers. Living in a cosmopolitan city brings with it many ethnic hazards, not the least of which is thinking we know much more about other people and groups than we actually do. New Yorkers, native born and newly arrived alike, cannot help but be aware of the city's large, old, and vibrant Jewish community. It's an easy step to succumb to the illusion that they know much more about the people and their ancestral language than they do in fact. (Trying a few words in another language need not be a deliberate slur. It can in fact be a sign of respect, friendship, and even affection. But I wonder what a waiter in a French restaurant thinks when someone drags out a few

ill-remembered phrases of a high-school conversation book to impress dinner companions.)

On a few occasions people who know of my roots in Brooklyn have assumed an association with the New York Jewish community that simply does not exist. Once when visiting Chicago, an old Jesuit friend from graduate-school days wanted to take me out to lunch. He had heard of a great Jewish delicatessen that he knew I'd enjoy as though I'd just opened a box of cookies from home. Of course, most of the items on the menu could have been printed in Mandarin for all I knew. Why should I know the difference between a blintz and a blini? And several beverages would appear higher on my list of favorite drinks than celery tonic and seltzer. At least I'm better off than another Jesuit friend I shared a hotel room with during a conference a few years ago. As lunch time drew near, I told him I was going out to get a bagel and lox. When I offered to bring one back for him, he asked, "What's a lock?" Maybe Brooklyn does foster intuitive knowledge of such things after all.

But maybe not. As I look back on it, the old neighborhood didn't really provide much interaction between ethnic groups. The few Yiddish words and phrases at my disposal probably came much later, perhaps from reading Potok, Doctorow, Bellow, Roth, and of course the delightful glossaries of Leo Rosten. The films of Brooks, Lumet, and Allen may not have added to the vocabulary, but they certainly demonstrated the proper intonation for maximum impact. By way of comparison, think how the majestic Italian words of Dante and Tasso take on an added urgency when spoken in *The Godfather* films, especially if the speaker is holding a gun or a baseball bat.

I wonder why there wasn't more of a transcultural exchange in the old neighborhood than there was. Proximity helps, but it's not enough. Exchange takes conscious effort. There were a fair number of Jewish families in the neighborhood, but their children went to the public school, and the Irish and Italian kids to the parish school. We played together, but who is concerned with understanding other ethnic and religious traditions when there are important matters at hand, like stickball and street hockey? Many of the shop owners were Jewish, but picking up an egg cream, dry cleaning, or a prescription doesn't provide much of a forum for serious dialogue. Nor does a visit to a local dentist or physician. Who wants to discuss culture in a room filled with instruments that at any moment could inflict extreme unpleasantness on your body?

Institutions run the same risk of insularity through neglect, and they have to take conscious action to function as part of their host communities. Again, proximity is not enough. My alma mater, Brooklyn Prep, was located in Crown Heights, home to one of the largest Hasidic communities in the world, including that of the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Menachem Schneerson, who from the 1950s until his death in 1994 was one of the foremost Jewish spiritual leaders in the world. Between the subway stop and school, we would often run into little boys from Hebrew shul, complete with velvet yarmulkes and side locks, hanging on to a rope held by a rabbi as they marched off for an outing in a nearby playground. It was a curiosity, but we rarely acknowledged one another's exist-

tence. We saw signs in shop windows, which we identified as 7-W-D, and only much later did I realize that this word in Hebrew letters was pronounced *kosher*.

On hindsight, at least from the perspective of a high-school student, it seemed that B.P. existed as its own fortress city and had very little relationship to the surrounding countryside. Most of us came by bus or subway from other neighborhoods, went to classes, participated in after-school activities, and then took the same bus or subway back home. Crown Heights or Hasidism scarcely made any impact on our consciousness. Perhaps the Jesuits working there did reach out to the local community through St. Ignatius parish but, as a boy, I was unaware of it. At the time, in the mid-1950s, interfaith dialogue had not yet achieved the priority status it enjoys today, so if the parish did reach out to the neighborhood, I would imagine its efforts would have been directed to the remnant Catholic community rather than the Hasidim.

To risk offering a subjective impression rather than the results of a scientific survey, these days Jesuit institutions seem to be making admirable efforts to function as contributing parts of their surroundings. It's not easy. Many places have built perimeter fences not only to give a clearly defined sense of the campus, but to provide needed security. These fences, necessary as they surely are, can send out the wrong signal. Some neighbors see these as a deliberate effort to keep them out. Class and race can add to the friction when they perceive the student body as a privileged class coming into their neighborhood from out of town or from the suburbs to get an education they could never even imagine for their own children.

The town-gown friction comes from the other direction as well. Campuses in more affluent areas find their neighbors enjoy living next to a private park, cared for with private funding and virtually empty during the summer, but they don't like the fact that students and faculty actually use the property during the school year. They arrive in buses that make fumes and cars that need parking spaces; they cross streets, create litter, and, good heavens, make noise! Homeowners don't want students living across the street in residence halls and oppose expanding them. At the same time, they don't want students taking apartments in nearby buildings, but landlords love the rent money. And junk-food emporiums make a fortune from catering to students' dietary habits.

Involvement with the surrounding area is far more complex than merely resolving zoning conflicts. It takes many forms and has become an important mission for just about every Jesuit institution. Parishes routinely provide a wide range of social services not only to their own members, but to anyone in need. Retreat houses sponsor programs for adult education and ecumenical dialogue. High schools and colleges now often require student involvement in community service like tutoring, coaching, visiting health care facilities, food-distribution sites, and the like. Universities and professional schools have been well positioned to place their resources at the service of the community at large. Think of the work of schools of medicine, nursing, and law as well as schools of education, business, and social service, whose very nature demands interac-

tion with the world beyond the campus. Even novices and Jesuit students, who not too long ago were sequestered in castles on lofty hilltops in the middle of enchanted forests and surrounded by moats filled with rented alligators, now spend a good deal of time in ministries beyond the drawbridge.

Interaction demands two-way traffic. Jesuits go out, and the local community comes in. Jesuit institutions of all kinds bring their neighbors into their institutions by sponsoring lectures, adult-education programs, concerts, recitals, plays, art exhibits, and poetry readings. Even sports events can attract diverse people in the area for a few hours of enjoyment together. Somehow the spirit of competition with rivals can have a unifying effect on a community. No wonder American Jesuits have traditionally plopped their parishes, high schools, colleges, and universities in the middle of the cities rather than out in the wilderness. As is often the case, when we feel proudest of our innovations, we discover that we have really just gone back to our roots. We need an urban environment and interaction with the city if we are going to do our job.

Mutual interchange between the Jesuit school and its surroundings, then, is not something that developed "in the wake of Vatican II," as the cliché would have it. In this issue of *STUDIES*, Luce Giard presents evidence from an astonishing number of sources to document the relationship between the schools and the cities in the earliest period of Jesuit education. Her essay was originally presented at a conference entitled "From Spirit to Structure: The *Constitutions* and the Formation of Jesuit Culture." It was held in October 2006 at the Pontifical Gregorian University under the auspices of the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, under the title "Les colleges comme lieux de production, de circulation et d'animation du savoir et du croire."

Although the monograph is to be published in the proceedings of the conference and will be available to scholars in its original form, John O'Malley, a former member and continuing friend of the Jesuit Seminar, felt that it would be of interest to American Jesuits and suggested making it available to *STUDIES*. Professor Giard agreed. Tom McCoog, editor of the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* and organizer of the conference, graciously gave us permission to go ahead with the project. Brian Van Hove provided the initial translation, which the Seminar discussed in its meeting in April 2007. John checked over the text at various stages of its production. Professor Giard reviewed the final translation in its entirety. The essay that follows is in every sense a group effort, beginning with a highly skilled and dedicated lay companion and moving forward with the involvement of the entire Seminar and other Jesuits from both sides of the Atlantic. It's a fine example of collaboration at its most productive.

Our hope is that this issue of *STUDIES* will offer some context and guidance to Jesuits in the United States and elsewhere as we continue reevaluating our ministries. During this process of restructuring, we can fall into the trap of thinking in terms of a facile yet false dichotomy between social ministries and

education, or to put it crassly, between soup kitchens and ivory towers. As Professor Giard demonstrates so ably, that dichotomy did not exist in the early Society. We might conclude then that it need not exist today, and won't, if only we have the patience and imagination to view our ministry as a totality, rather than a collection of competing organizations. Many thanks to all who brought this extraordinary work of scholarship to an American readership.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: THE ORIGINS	1
Selecting Sites for the Colleges	3
I. CENTERS OF LEARNING	7
A Network of Letters.....	8
Exchanges with Leading Scholars	10
Involvement in the Cities	13
II. CENTERS FOR THE ARTS	16
The Arts and Public Performance	18
Symbolic Arts and Liturgy	21
III. Centers of Spirituality	24
Domestic Missions.....	28
A CONCLUDING COMMENT	30

Luce Giard completed her graduate work in history and the philosophy of science at the University of Paris-Sorbonne in 1968. Until assuming emerita status in 2004, she was a research fellow at the Centre de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, serving for part of that time as vice-chair of the Laboratoire d'Histoire des Sciences. From 1990 to 2006 she also held the position of visiting professor during the winter quarter at the University of California, San Diego. In addition to publications in medieval and renaissance intellectual history, Professor Giard has edited twelve volumes of the works of Michel de Certeau, S.J., who died in 1986. She continues to live in Paris.

Brian Van Hove, S.J., completed his doctorate in church history at the Catholic University of America, where he wrote his dissertation, "The Life and Career of François Annat, S.J.: The Failure of His Anti-Jansenism, May 1641-October 1668." He is currently on the staff of the White House Retreat Center in St. Louis..

The Jesuit College

A Center for Knowledge, Art, and Faith 1548–1773

From its earliest days, the Jesuit college reached far beyond its primary commitment to its own students and exercised an influence on both the surrounding community and on the academic world as a whole. Its international character and networks of communication placed the Society of Jesus in a privileged position to facilitate many forms of cultural exchange.

Introduction: The Origins

We know that, without really setting out to do it, the Society of Jesus became involved in teaching early on in its life. Before long its commitment to this chance involvement blossomed into a large number of colleges. Despite the hesitation of some of its members, the Society put a good part of its manpower into this particular challenge. Opening a college brought with it social legitimacy since the local powers who had requested it (bishops, princes, municipal authorities, wealthy benefactors) also provided financial support for the projects. Moreover, the central administration of the Society soon became aware that teaching for “the good of souls” and for the benefits of a Catholic education created a “garden of vocations” of candidates who might themselves enter the Order.¹ In fact, along with teaching,

¹Concerning the setting up of this new activity and its consequences for the Society, see John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1993; chapter 6 “The Schools,” p. 200–242. On its origins see Luce Giard, “Au premier temps de la Compagnie de Jésus: du projet ini-

a college assured a variety of other apostolic activities in the city and its environs. Surely situations differed according to place, political regime and local conflicts, all of which determined the colleges' size, staffing and available financial resources. There was not always and everywhere either the will or the energy needed to fulfill every apostolate, but the examples we have studied here prove that colleges provided a wide range of roles for the Jesuits who were assigned to them. The most experienced of them, and perhaps the most creative or adventurous, became involved in tasks in the larger world using the college as a base of operations.

In what is to follow, using examples borrowed from sixteenth and seventeenth century Western Europe, I will show how and why colleges assumed three great purposes besides teaching itself. Gradually these institutions passed in scale from the local to the regional to the international. In the first place, the college will be seen as a place of knowledge, a center of intellectual productivity and learned exchange. Next it will be described as a place where the public image of the Society was established, thanks to the implementation of an artistic curriculum that exalted a post-Tridentine version of the Christian tradition. Finally it will be considered as a place of living faith that inspired "Marian Congregations" (Sodalities of Our Lady) and both urban and rural missions. Preachers and writers of theological and spiritual works also clustered here. In the present study I make no reference to the Collegio Romano, since that was an exceptional case with a particular role to play as the experimental teaching center and model of excellence of the Society for the sake of cardinals and the ambassadors of the Catholic nations stationed in Rome. Likewise I will make no mention of any other foundations in the papal capital as these were still too close to the Collegio Romano and to the central headquarters of the Society.

By way of introduction we should underscore that a college is a "showcase of urban culture," as Stéphane Van Damme pointed out in reference to Lyons in France.² If we look at the geographical distribution of the colleges in Europe, we note that often the important cities were

tial à l'entrée dans l'enseignement" in Étienne Ganty et al., (eds.), *Tradition jésuite. Enseignement, spiritualité, mission*. Namur: Presses universitaires de Namur; and Brussels: Éditions Lessius, 2002, p. 11–45.

² Stéphane Van Damme, *Le Temple de la Sagesse. Savoirs, écriture et sociabilité urbaine (Lyon, XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle)*. Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2005.

chosen.³ When smaller venues were selected, it was sometimes just a temporary arrangement or acquiescence to the request of a bishop, cardinal or friendly prince. Sometimes the location of a college was chosen to strengthen the struggle against the Reformation in a border area. Moreover, many proposed projects were turned down for lack of Jesuit manpower. Thus Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1517–1576), secretary to the first three Fathers General of the Society,⁴ indicated in a circular letter to the members of the order (Spanish text, April 21–26, 1559) that they had just denied more than forty requests in Italy, accepting only that of Parma, which came from Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.⁵

Selecting Sites for the Colleges

To understand the rationale behind founding the colleges, we must remember that the early Society developed in three kinds of social and theological-political climates. The first of these climates was in the states that had Catholic monarchs, those kingdoms where religious troubles were contained by the force of political power and where there was fidelity to Rome (more or less freely given). The second was in the states where the Reformed churches had already taken hold but in which the Society looked for ways to strengthen Catholic islets for some future *Reconquista*. The third was in mission lands outside Europe where Christian Revelation remained unknown until the newly conquering European empires subdued them. By recognizing these three climates, we find a partial explanation for the Society's choosing the locations it did for the opening of its colleges. The choices responded to the differences in political contexts and apostolic needs. This also explains the variety of efforts to make contact with these diverse social groupings.

³For the importance given to getting established in the city and to the choice of sites in urban areas, see Thomas M. Lucas, *Landmarking: City, Church and Jesuit Urban Strategy*. Chicago: Loyola Press, 1997.

⁴A fine portrait of Polanco has been drawn by Mario Scaduto, *L'Epoca di Girolamo Lainez. Il governo (1556–1565)*. Rome, La Civiltà cattolica, 1964, p. 180–188.

⁵Polanco, *Complementa*, vol. I. Madrid, 1916. Rome (reprint): Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1969; Letter 67, p. 203. A lengthy Spanish-language letter by Polanco, sent to all the Jesuits on November 27, 1560, reiterates the events of recent months concerning the refusal to open numerous colleges that have been requested by municipalities or princes in Italy, Germany, or elsewhere, due to lack of manpower for the job. The hopes of the concluding paragraph ended with a wish in Latin: "Mittat Dominus messis operarios." *Ibid.*, Letter 70, p. 229.

Such a retrospective view of this development leaves us with contradictory impressions. As some have often noted, there was no centralized strategic planning to govern the importance and proliferation of the colleges.⁶ Toward the end of the generalate of Everard Mercurian in 1579, there were 5,165 Jesuits in ten houses of the professed, 33 other residences, 12 novitiates, and 144 colleges.⁷ The priority given to the opening of colleges is indisputable, and this emphasis continued to the time of Claudio Aquaviva, who became Superior General in February 1581, at which time he redirected the orientation of the Society toward missionary work in and outside Europe.⁸ In fact, from the time of St. Ignatius up to the end of the sixteenth century, a disordered, unrealistic activity seems to have prevailed. It was a period of strange and even reckless growth, which consisted of impoverishment alongside expansion; of a chaotic boom characterized by hasty openings and closings; of ever-threatening debts; of an uncoordinated deployment of insufficient numbers of qualified Jesuits to satisfy the crying need for teachers; of repeated pleas by rectors asking for help; of discouraged and inexperienced young men leaving the Society (or being dismissed by their superiors) because they were burnt out by excessively heavy teaching assignments. But during this same period, because of the perspicacity and tenacity of those who had worked so hard to bring it about, they were able to agree upon a pedagogical approach. This work led to any number of projects and evaluations based on the concrete experiences that the Companions shared among themselves, among province visitors sent from Rome and the central government for purposes of reaching the definitive version of the *Ratio Studiorum* published in 1599, to replace several earlier texts.⁹ But if there were no unified strategy to methodically determine the opening of colleges, there certainly was in the

⁶See for example Marc Venard, "Y a-t-il une stratégie scolaire des Jésuites en France au XVI^e siècle?" in *L'Université de Pont-à-Mousson et les problèmes de son temps*. Nancy: Université de Nancy, 1974; p. 67–85.

⁷See Mario Fois, "Everard Mercurian," in Thomas M. McCoog, ed., *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture, 1573–1580*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu; and Saint Louis, Missouri: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004, p. 25.

⁸I will return to this point later when I deal with the third function of the colleges as places for the increase of faith.

⁹See the fine edition produced by Ladislaus Lukács, *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1965–1992, 7 vols. The three early versions of the *Ratio Studiorum* are found in volume 5, published in 1986.

provinces an urban strategy to seize opportunities or to create them.¹⁰ We need only recall the tireless activity of Peter Canisius in the German lands; Canisius was always ready to establish the Jesuits in centers of power and influence.¹¹

It would be false to think that chance ruled entirely in these matters. Although choices depended upon circumstance, the locations for colleges and the collateral activities that were developed along with teaching, were not chosen randomly. Among the authorities there was a clear awareness of the importance of colleges to establish the public image of the Society of Jesus. There was an equally clear will to make choices oriented toward achieving the goals set out from the founding of the Society. The controlling documents, those from the central authority in Rome as well as the letters exchanged among the members of the Society, testify to a sustained reflection about this. Thus when the *Constitutions* (Part VII) deals with the distribution of the members of the Society "in the vineyard of the Lord," two long paragraphs of Declarations (622–633) list the criteria to be taken into account. First and foremost are "persons of high rank who have public offices"; then "great nations"; then "important cities."¹² In his "ex commissione" (mandated by the General) letter in Spanish of December 1, 1551, Juan de Polanco detailed in his usual methodical manner to Antonio de Araoz the usefulness of urban locations first of all for "Ours" (it concerns the formation of scholastics), then for extern students and finally for the general population of the town and its environs.¹³ Thanks to the college, fathers of families saw their sons instructed and well educated in the faith. Stu-

¹⁰ For the Kingdom of Naples, see the remarks of Cosimo Damiano Fonseca: "Collegio e città: progetto culturale e scelte strategiche," and of Bruno Pellegrino: "I collegi gesuitici et la strategia della Compagnia nel Regno di Napoli tra 1500 et 1600" in Filippo Iappelli and Ulderico Parente, eds.: "Alle origini dell'Università dell'Aquila. Cultura, Università, Collegi gesuitici all'inizio dell'età moderna in Italia meridionale." Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2000, esp. p. 91–106 and p. 107–126.

¹¹ Thomas M. Lucas, *Petrus Canisius: Jesuit Urban Strategist* in Rainer Berndt, ed., *Petrus Canisius SJ (1521–1597): Humanist und Europäer*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2000, p. 275–291.

¹² The Latin text is in Ignatius Loyola, *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, vol. 3. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1938, p. 203–204. French translation of Ignatius Loyola by Maurice Giuliani, ed., in *Écrits*. Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 1991, p. 548–549.

¹³ See Ignatius Loyola, *Epistolae et Instructiones*, vol. 4. Madrid: 1906; and Rome (reprint): Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1964, Epistola 2226, p. 5–9.

dents, in turn, educated their parents and families by encouraging them to deepen their knowledge of the faith. Later, when the former students began to have their own responsibilities in the town or local region, they served the common good more effectively. In addition, the Jesuit teachers at the college were likely to preach, dispense the sacraments, and foster pious or charitable works. The college was thus described as a center of education in the faith that went beyond the city limits.

Still more revealing is a long memorandum from Polanco (Spanish text, December 8, 1564) to an unknown recipient.¹⁴ In this detailed description of the past and present state of the Society, he explained forcefully that the colleges have both a defensive role "to resist pressure from the heretics" and an offensive role to attack ignorance and the laxity of the clergy whose bad conduct had opened the way for the enemies of Rome. This conviction must have inspired his statements in which he bluntly dismissed the complaints of those who were overwhelmed and disappointed by the task of teaching. In another "ex commissione" letter to the Superiors (Italian text, August 10, 1560), he confirmed that "all must carry a part of the weight of the schools" even if they might take into account the talent and the attraction some Jesuits might have for other ministries, and even if these companions could give only part of their time to the work.¹⁵ In the seventeenth century in France a request for a college generated a rigorous examination by the provincial and his consulters. Their written reports sent to Rome "bring out the importance attached to the quality of the city, the interest in the clientele attending religious rites, attention to climate and economic conditions, and especially to security." This last item was non-negotiable. Establishments were outright rejected in 'unprotected cities' and also in the smaller cities where studies and professors might not flourish."¹⁶

These preliminary considerations are presented to clarify the situation of the college and the intentions of the Society on this subject. Now let us turn to a brief analysis of the three principal functions which the colleges assumed separate from teaching.

¹⁴ Polanco, *Complementa*, vol. 1, Epistola 114, p. 498–526; regarding colleges, p. 521–524.

¹⁵ *Monumenta Paedagogica*, vol. 3, 1974, Monumentum 209, p. 305–306.

¹⁶ François de Dainville, *L'éducation des jésuites (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Marie-Madeleine Compère, ed. Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1978, p. 153–154. The examples mentioned in this chapter entitled "Le collège et la cité" have to do with France.

I. Centers of Learning

The first function of the college in the city was to become a center of learning. Within its walls men of culture and a collection of varied resources were gathered. Every college had its library, whose extent depended on its endowment. In the seventeenth century, college often included an astronomy observatory¹⁷ and a museum for curiosities such as medals, antiques, minerals, and specimens of flora and fauna. Sometimes there was a special room for physics with various mechanical devices, machines, supplies and instruments.¹⁸ Often there was a pharmacy that stored and prepared medicines. At times the college pharmacy was used for commercial purposes.¹⁹ These kinds of resources at the disposition of the teaching faculty allowed the most advanced students to nourish their intellectual curiosity. It is obvious that the composition and the richness of the book collections, of devices and artifacts, varied from one college to another.²⁰ But their very presence and their accessibility to the local social elite, and the tradition of wel-

¹⁷ Thus Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680), residing in the college in Avignon (France) between 1631 and 1633, where he taught Mathematics, set up a small observatory in the Tower de la Motte. There by a trick of mirrors he decorated the staircase with projections which permitted the reading of the astronomical hours, the position of the planets, the sign of the Zodiac where the sun is to be located, etc. All these things are described in his work on the gnomonics [the art of drawing sundials] (*Primitiae gnomonicae catoptricae*. . . , Avignon, 1635). See also Joseph Girard, "Avignon" in Pierre Delattre, ed., *Les établissements jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles*. Enghien: Institut supérieur de théologie, vol. 3, 1947, col. 467. On the multiplication of observatories after 1600, see Agustín Udías, *Searching the Heavens and the Earth: The History of Jesuit Observatories*. Dordrecht-Boston: Kluwer, 2003.

¹⁸ When the Jesuits were forced by the Parlement of Paris to leave the college in Lyons in April 1762, the catalogue given for the observatory, dated January 1764, lists astronomical instruments, an incomplete pneumatic machine, clocks, life-like animals, etc. See Stéphane Van Damme, *op. cit.*, p. 392–393.

¹⁹ Stéphane Van Damme, *op. cit.*, p. 164–166, notes that the college in Lyons possessed in the 17th century "the most important collection of medical books in the entire city" (p. 164).

²⁰ As a case in point, for the library of the college in Lyons, see Yves Jouteur-Montrozier, "Des jésuites et de la bibliothèque municipale de Lyon" in Étienne Fouilloux and Bernard Hours, eds., *Les jésuites à Lyon XVIe-XXe siècle*. Lyons: ENS Éditions, 2005, p. 95–104. The continuation of the article (p. 105–109) leads us to the final fate of this collection. The memorandum of appraisal drawn up in April 1762 by the connoisseur Pierre Adamoli showed that the library of

coming high ranking visitors on occasion contributed to creating a positive image for learning and the sciences in the local society. At the same time this concentration of resources elevated the status of the college and the prestige of its teachers. In 1646 the young prince and future Charles II of England, while visiting the college in Liège, Belgium, admired the clocks of Francis Line and his great sundial constructed behind the college.²¹ In 1657 Queen Christina of Sweden visited the College of the Trinity in Lyons. There in her presence the young Claude-François Ménéstrier (1631–1705) undertook a memory test of three hundred bizarre and meaningless words. He passed the test successfully by reading the list once and then reciting it perfectly both backwards and forwards.²²

A Network of Letters

The teachers of the college were able to acquire information from outside sources, thanks to the system of letter writing established by the Society. From its origins, in order to keep unity among the members despite the deliberate dispersion of Jesuits across the world and their mobility, the central government mandated a tight network of both horizontal and vertical correspondence. It functioned according to a regular rhythm to prescribed rules at first often detailed but then finally at codified intervals. The *Constitutions* explain this in Part VIII which deals with the means to foster internal unity.²³ Here again Juan de Polanco played a decisive role by introducing and implementing the desired exchange of letters insisted upon by Ignatius and continued by his successors.²⁴ A two-way exchange of letters, flowing back and forth, unit-

the college at this time held 42 thousand volumes. This information came from the testimony of Father Xavier Tolomas, the last Jesuit in charge of the library.

²¹ Having become king twenty years later, Charles II had Line construct a similar sundial in the gardens of Whitehall Palace in London. See Conor Reilly, *Francis Line S.J.: an Exiled English Scientist, 1595–1675*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1969, p. 35–36 and 98–102.

²² Auguste Demoment, "Lyon," in Pierre Delattre, eds., *op. cit.*, vol. 9, 1953, col. 1544.

²³ The Latin text in Ignatius Loyola, *Constitutiones*, vol. 3, p. 224–226. French translation in Ignace de Loyola, *Écrits, Declarations* 673–676, p. 565–566.

²⁴ Shortly after being made Secretary of the Society by St. Ignatius, Polanco wrote two long "ex commissione" letters on this subject to the entire membership (Spanish text, July 27, 1547). The first letter argues with twenty good reasons why each Jesuit should understand the importance of this regular exchange of letters and that each do so with good will, regularity, and care. The second letter explains the rules to follow for dealing in the best way with this writing,

ed the entire Society. It was supplemented by horizontal and regional exchanges. The whole system brought about the circulation of detailed information concerning local situations and public or private events affecting the Jesuits between the center and the periphery, among provinces and within a single province.²⁵ The editing of accounts of activities and of critical reports involving the competent authorities at different levels of the organization was added to this store of correspondence at regular intervals. All this communication promoted a series of evaluations, the revision of previous directives and the exchange of news and decisions, to which the abundant archives attest, much to the delight of historians.²⁶

The abundant correspondence, a great part of which has to do primarily with the tasks of governance and financial administration, also offered the Jesuits of the college the benefit of an international and regional window into the news of the day and to the situation of the Society in the contemporary world. Without the need to travel physically, they could travel mentally, thanks to the letters and written materials coming from other locales and other Jesuits outside their own community. News from the "Grand Colleges" and from residences established in capital cities brought a certain familiarity with debates that were stirring in educated Europe and in rival churches. The overseas world was known to the Jesuits at home through their brothers who had left for faraway lands but who stayed in touch with their former superiors and classmates. A Jesuit returning from a distant mission often took up temporary residence in one of the colleges, and his first hand accounts of the work overseas made a great impression on his listeners. To cite one in-

successfully, precisely, and with discernment in sensitive matters. Latin text in Ignatius Loyola, *Epistolae et Instructiones*, vol. 1, 1903 and 1964 (reprint), Epistola 179, p. 536–541; and Epistola 180, p. 542–549. French translation in *Écrits*, p. 707–716.

²⁵ See Luce Giard, "L'usage jésuite de la correspondance," in Antonella Romano, ed., *Rome et la science moderne (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2008.

²⁶ On the hierarchy of offices (whose holders, each at his own level, have to keep this tide of letters and reports going), see Adrien Demoustier, "La distinction des fonctions et l'exercice du pouvoir selon les règles de la Compagnie de Jésus" in Luce Giard, ed., *Les jésuites à la Renaissance. Système éducatif et production du savoir*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1995, p. 3–33. On the kinds of archives kept in Rome, see the enlightening study by Antonella Romano, *La Contre-Réforme mathématique. Constitution et diffusion d'une culture mathématique jésuite à la Renaissance*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1999, p. 10–27.

stance, the geographer Martino Martini (1614–1661), returned to Rome from China to defend the case for the “Chinese Rites” and spent the spring of 1654 at the college in Brussels. There he completed his great atlas and negotiated with the printers. Moretus in Antwerp refused to publish his work due to prohibitive costs. Thus the superb *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, assembled from Chinese sources, a landmark in the history of European cartography, was eventually published in Amsterdam by Blaeu (Willem Janszoon Blaeu/Joan Blae). After his visit, a number of young Jesuits from the city requested to be sent to China.²⁷

In the absence of such visitors, one could turn to *Letters and Relations* of missionary Jesuits. Before long these missives were circulated in the form of translated manuscript excerpts. Later they appeared in printed form. Through these communiqués even the smallest of the colleges had access to descriptions of lands outside of Europe, of their flora and fauna, and of their native peoples, their languages and customs. Part of the bountiful information received from within the Society was regularly sorted through and reissued through different oral and written channels in a form suitable for wider distribution to those outside the Society. These channels of communication included private letters and public sermons, conversations and the minutes from gatherings of local scholars and printed collections which were sometimes illustrated. All of this fed the curiosity of contemporaries and gave them a positive image of the activities of the Society in various places. In addition, it provided the occasion for the Society to appeal to their generosity for support of the enterprise. Thus the international character of the Society and its universal vocation also reduced the provincialism and the insularity of the “petits colleges.” By circulating the descriptions, narratives and news gathered by means of the internal Jesuit network to those outside the Society, Jesuits opened the college to the city. In turn the city (or at least the urban associates of the Jesuits) was opened to the outside world.

Exchanges with Leading Scholars

Through this practice of extensive letter writing, the mathematicians, astronomers and physicists of the colleges were able to participate at a distance in the works of other institutions of learning. Some

²⁷Noël Golvers, “Martino Martini, his stay in the S.J. College of Brussels (1654) and the production of his *Novus Atlas Sinensis*,” presentation at the conference *Quatre siècles de présence jésuite à Bruxelles* (Brussels, November 22–25, 2006). Proceedings of the Conference to be published.

of them formed relations with the great minds of the “Republic of Letters” and, with more or less relevance, contributed to the theoretical debates of the times.²⁸ From Lyons after 1682, from Avignon after 1684 and from still other places, Jesuits sent memoranda regarding their regularly carried out astronomical observations to the “Académie royale des sciences” in Paris.²⁹ From Liège, Francis Line wrote to the Royal Society of London and persisted in his opposition to Newton on the theory of colors.³⁰ He was not the only Jesuit in contact with this institution.³¹ Ignace Pardies also corresponded with the Royal Society from the colleges of La Rochelle, Bordeaux and finally, consistent with his progression toward more larger and more prestigious institutions, Paris where he taught mathematics. He also published in the *Journal des sçavans*, founded in 1665. In Paris he frequented the milieu of the academies and was in some cases read by Christian Huygens (1629–1695) and Leibniz (1646–1716).³²

At Ingolstadt in Germany in 1611, Christoph Scheiner (1575–1650) discovered “sun spots” independently of Galileo. His results were published the following year in Augsburg under the pseudonym “Apelles” by his friend Marcus Welser.³³ These works were continued by Charles Malapert from Mons in Belgium. Malapert held the chair of Mathematics in Douai in the Gallo-Belgian Province, in present day France. He completed his book in 1626, but authorities in Rome delayed publication until 1633. Perhaps they did not wish to offend Scheiner, whose

²⁸ On the participation of Jesuits in the scientific debates of the seventeenth century, see Peter Dear, *Discipline and Experience: The Mathematical Way in the Scientific Revolution*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 32–85 and 170–178, etc.

²⁹ Stéphane Van Damme, *op. cit.*, p. 390–394.

³⁰ Conor Reilly, *op. cit.*, p. 115–130.

³¹ See the concise listing by Conor Reilly: “A catalogue of Jesuitica in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London (1665–1715)” in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 1958, 27, p. 339–362.

³² August Ziggelaar, *Le physicien Ignace Gaston Pardies S.J. (1636–1673)*. Odense, [Denmark]: Odense University Press, 1971.

³³ For an introduction to his career, see Franz Daxecker, *The Physicist and Astronomer Christopher Scheiner: Biography, Letters, Works*. Innsbruck: University of Innsbruck, 2004. On the matter of “sun spots” and the debate which ensued concerning the incorruptibility of the heavens, see Edward Grant, *Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 210–211 and 454–458. Also Peter Dear, *op. cit.*, p. 100–107 and 111–115.

volume of observations (*Rosa Ursina*, Rome, 1630) took the honor of first publication.³⁴ The college of Naples in Italy around 1630 had some excellent equipment thanks to the mathematician Giovanni Giacomo Stasero (1565–1635) and his ties with Francesco Fontana, a renowned maker of optical instruments. So precise were the observations executed during the 1640s that their quality was praised by such notables as Kircher and Pierre Gassendi. (1592–1655). These same observations were also used by the astronomer Giovanni Battista Riccioli (1598–1671) in his ambitious 1651 work *Almagestum novum astronomicum*.³⁵

Other Jesuits who were engaged in the teaching of the sciences also corresponded with their distinguished contemporaries. Such was the case with Grégoire de Saint Vincent (1584–1657), who, from Ghent in Belgium, contacted Huygens.³⁶ Johann Baptista Cysat (1587–1657) succeeded Scheiner in 1618 as the chair of mathematics and Astronomy at Ingolstadt. Cysat corresponded with the Lutheran scientist Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), as did Johann Reinhard Ziegler (1569–1636) between 1606 and 1609.³⁷ Two Jesuits in particular were united by friendship with Kepler. One of them was Albertius Curtius (or Curtz, 1600–1671) who was a teacher at Dillingen in Germany. The other was Paul Guldin (1577–1643) from Graz and Vienna in Austria. Both Jesuits supported

³⁴ François De Vriendt, "Le Père Charles Malapert s.j. (1581–1630), un savant montois au temps de l'apogée des jésuites," in Jacques Lory et al., eds., *Les Jésuites à Mons 1584–1598–1998. Liber memorialis*. Mons: Association royale des anciens élèves du collège Saint-Stanislas, 1999, p. 107–135, esp. p. 133.

³⁵ Romano Gatto, *Tra scienza e immaginazione. Le matematiche presso il collegio gesuitico napoletano (1552–1670 ca.)*. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1994, p. 150–153. On Riccioli see the following: Edward Grant, *op. cit.*; Peter Dear, *op. cit.*; and Maria Teresa Borgato, eds., *Giambattista Riccioli e il merito scientifico dei gesuiti nell'età barocca*. Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2002.

³⁶ This correspondence lasted from 1651 to 1665. The young Huygens was one of the first to find Grégoire de Saint-Vincent's mistake in the Jesuit's efforts to resolve the problem of the quadrature of the circle in Book X of his *Opus geometricum*. Antwerp: 1647. See Omer Van de Vyver, "L'école de mathématiques de la province flandro-belge," in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 1980, 49, p. 265–278, esp. p. 266–267 and 272–273.

³⁷ Ziegler edited the publication of the *Opera mathematica* of Christoph Clavius (1538–1612) in Mainz: 1611–1612, 5 vols. After being rector of the college in Mainz in 1609, in spite of his interest in mathematics he had a career as confessor to princes and served as a diplomat during the Thirty Years War. See Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, Courts, and Confessors*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 89–90 and 105 and 110–114 and 161 and 179–180.

Kepler financially when he was in difficult circumstances. They loaned him books, gave him lodging and corresponded with him at length. Perhaps they hoped to bring him back to Catholicism.³⁸ From Würzburg in Germany Kaspar Schott (1607–1666) maintained a whole network of correspondence in Germany and Central Europe on the theory of machines and mathematics. In his books he deliberately played the role of critic and publicist for “The New Physics.”³⁹

Involvement in the Cities

Still other Jesuits were recruited to resolve practical urban problems. In Ferrara, Italy, in 1604–1610 the city authorities consulted Agostino Spornazzati (ca. 1555–1613) for purposes of stabilizing the flow of the lower Po River. Such collaboration was flattering for the Society, but by involving themselves in urban development, the Jesuits began to encroach upon the interests of certain city dwellers. They were in positions to irritate powerful people, a situation that put them in some political danger. This danger explains how twenty years later in 1624 the Superior General did not permit Niccolò Cabeo (1586–1650), himself a native of Ferrara and who lived in the college of that city between 1622 and 1623, to provide advice for updating the Po projects, even though the authorities had asked his advice.⁴⁰

Thanks to its faculties, the college became a storehouse of authors and a center of learning. The Society quickly recognized the major importance of the print media in the diffusion of ideas and the formation of opinion. The Society developed what one might understand as a true “politics of the book,” as the numerous bibliographical entries of Carlos Sommervogel clearly demonstrate.⁴¹ In this context the function of the

³⁸ Max Caspar, *Kepler*, revised ed., tr. C.D. Hellman. New York: Dover, 1993, p. 80 (on Christoph Grienberger at Graz); 226 (on the Jesuits from the college at Linz); 252 (on the Jesuits from Ingolstadt); 317 (on Guldin); 327 and 331 (on Curtius in Dillingen); p. 334–338 (on Curtius and Guldin). I have not been able to consult M. W. Burke-Gaffney, *Kepler and the Jesuits*. Milwaukee: 1944.

³⁹ Marcus Hellyer, *Catholic Physics: Jesuit Natural Philosophy in Early Modern Germany*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004, p. 44 and 48–49 and 115 and 123–124 and 138–158.

⁴⁰ Alessandra Fiocca, “Ferrara e i gesuiti periti in materia d’acque,” in Gian Paolo Brizzi and Roberto Greci, eds., *Gesuiti e università in Europa (secoli XVI–XVIII)*. Bologna: Clueb, 2002, p. 339–359, esp. 339–345.

⁴¹ Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Brussels: 1890–1930, 12 volumes.

scriptor was created with the goal that certain Jesuits, freed for a time from other duties, could devote themselves to writing books. Every literary genre profited from these privileged positions. We find examples of theologians, controversialists, and authors of spirituality as well as playwrights, historians, mathematicians and philosophers.⁴² Stéphane Van Damme remarked that in France those assigned to the apostolate of scriptor always resided in the “grands collèges” such as those in Paris, Bordeaux, Lyons and Toulouse.⁴³ It seems that it was the same for other countries. We might suppose that in making these choices the Jesuits considered the appropriate size of the college and city, as well as the existence of printing and publishing shops, bookstores and people of culture, who would provide the readership for the books in production. Furthermore, the authors in the colleges did not limit themselves to the subjects actually taught there. Their expansive scope of interest is confirmed in the sciences (applied mathematics, military science, hydraulics, geology, medicine, etc.) and in the arts (genealogical works, history of royal families, local antiquities, town planning and local history, etc.). Thus Alexandre Wiltheim (1604–1684), rector of the college of Luxembourg from 1656 to 1659, began composing “the first archeological directory of the area” in 1661. The work remained in manuscript form until published in the nineteenth century. It contained precise information about Roman inscriptions, careful drawings of monuments and a map of the sites he had visited.⁴⁴

Obviously, the college generated the editing and publication of textbooks and workbooks for teaching purposes. These were often based on the course manuscripts of the teachers responsible for the particular subject. They were sometimes published without any author’s name beneath the seal of the Society. To these publications the college added countless topical compositions written to commemorate the solemn celebration of the important events of the school year. These events

⁴² Thus the poet and playwright Jakob Balde (1604–1680) benefited from this status in Munich from 1648 to 1651: see Jean-Marie Valentin, *Les jésuites et le théâtre (1554–1680). Contribution à l’histoire culturelle du monde catholique dans le Saint-Empire romain germanique*. Paris: Desjonquères, 2001, p. 93.

⁴³ Stéphane Van Damme, *op. cit.*, p. 25–34.

⁴⁴ *Luciliburgensia sive Luxemburgum Romanum*, Luxembourg, 1841, 2 vols., 99 plates. See Josy Birsens, “Les recteurs et vice-recteurs du collège jésuite de Luxembourg (1603–1773). Esquisses biographiques,” in Josy Birsens, ed., *Du collège jésuite au collège municipal 1603–1815*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul, 2003, vol. 1, p. 217–218.

were accompanied by public ceremonies to which the Jesuits invited civil authorities, families of the students, benefactors and friends. The first college operated by the Society, in Messina, marked the opening of the school year (its *instauratio*) with a solemn gathering. Several professors delivered speeches specially written to laud their respective disciplines.⁴⁵ The same kind of celebration was organized for the founding of a chair in a new academic discipline. In October 1618 Charles Malapert, the first mathematics chairholder in Douai, delivered a discourse in praise of astronomy which summarized the latest findings.⁴⁶ On the occasion of a thesis defense, the college printed a sign with the name and titles of the sponsoring professor (who was often the author of the theses his student was required to defend), the name of the candidate, the title of the thesis and a summary of its contents. All of this information was placed on a page setting with complex decoration and a beautiful picture, or emblem, to decode.⁴⁷ Again, the annual awards ceremony for the best students in the college provided the occasion for delivering an elegant oration on some Christian virtue, a speech highlighted by allusions to classical authors, composed by a teacher and read by a brilliant student. At times the college printed a brochure to accompany the event. For many years, all these feasts were conducted in Latin and provided the opportunity to showcase the rhetorical cleverness and learning of the faculty. They offered an opportunity to emphasize the talents of the best students in a show that was carefully orchestrated with expressions of gratitude. The entire event was intended to elicit the pride of the parents and of course the admiration of the audience.

In addition to their efforts to develop an adequate number of writers and suitable outlets for their works, the early Jesuits were equally

⁴⁵ Gabriel Codina Mir, *Aux sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites: le 'modus parisiensis.'* Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1968, p. 328–329. The only surviving trace of these oral discourses is in the notices sent to Rome.

⁴⁶ *Oratio habita Duaci dum lectionem mathematicam auspicaretur.* Douai, 1620, 42 pages with woodcut illustrations. See François De Vriendt, *op. cit.*, p. 128–130.

⁴⁷ Here are two examples. The thesis defense of Pierre Sève from the college of Lyons, 1622. The sign is reproduced in Antonella Romano, *op. cit.*, figure 18, appendix of illustrations. The thesis defense of Hugo Adolph Heidelberger, University of Mainz, 1644. The sign is reproduced in Marcus Hellyer, *op. cit.*, figure 2, p. 63. In 1619 Grégoire de Saint-Vincent in the college of Antwerp where he taught mathematics had his students defend some theses on the comets. A beautiful comet had been seen in November 1618. The relevant texts have not been found. See Omer Van de Vyver, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

concerned with the "politics of the book." The teachers had two issues. First, they were concerned for the readers and the degree of discretion they should exercise in acquiring books and in recommending them according to age, context and objectives of the readers. The second was the desire to help students read them profitably. To respond to these concerns the colleges drew up numerous essays on library science of which the prototype was the *Bibliotheca selecta* (Rome, 1593) by Antonio Possevino (1533–1611). This is to be regarded as a supplement to the *Ratio studiorum*. Three examples of this genre also appeared in France.⁴⁸ The first, *Arcana studiorum omnium methodus, et bibliotheca scientiarum* (Lyons, 1649), proposes a method of study with a bibliography organized according to subject matter by Alexandre Fichet (1588–1659), the renowned preacher who was named rector of the college of Nîmes in 1633. The second, *Systema bibliothecae Collegii parisiensis Societatis Iesu* (Paris, 1678) was prepared by Jean Garnier (1612–1681). It is a systematic treatment of bibliography developed at the library of the college of Clermont in Paris. The third, *Euphyander seu vir ingeniosus* (Lyons, 1669) by Honoré Fabri (1607–1688) provides advice to students. Fabri wrote it in Rome while "in exile" there. It consists of recollections from his time as professor in the College of the Trinity in Lyons between 1640 and 1646. We could easily find other equivalents from other countries.

II. Centers for the Arts

The second function of the college was to provide a set of amazingly elaborate and extensive programs in the arts. These endeavors had a clear educational purpose. They were not to be considered accessories, or merely sources of entertainment, but were regarded as parallel to the pursuit of knowledge, which was the primary objective of the college. The arts and performance entered into the life of the colleges very early. The arts programs were linked to the acquisition of knowledge. Their purpose was to illustrate and celebrate human experience in its historical, social, cultural and religious dimensions. The colleges of the Society tried to balance the values of intellect and sensitivity, and provide an awareness of the need for action amid the difficulties of life in the real world. The college wished to prepare the students in order to deepen their understanding of human situations in their actuality. To this end they used the stage, with music or images,

⁴⁸ See Stéphane Van Damme, *op. cit.*, p. 258–259.

with scenes taken from Sacred Scripture and Greek tragedies, as well as from Roman history and ancient poetry. They also enlivened the texts they studied in this way. Likewise they used performance art to instill upright moral conduct and a taste for holiness. At the same time, the artistic program engaged the love of the created world and the experience of beauty for the purpose of drawing near to God the Creator. This divine orientation echoed the Ignatian aspiration to encompass all human activity with an impassioned interest in contemporary life and a strong will to reform society.

In the colleges the faculty embraced all modes of representational art. To exalt history and human experience in complete fidelity to the Catholic tradition, the college brought together stagecraft, plays, song, music and ballet, oratory, the writing of poetry, inscriptions and mottoes, the drawing of *affixiones* and other emblematic work, with teachers and students together practicing the production of texts and images.⁴⁹ The emphasis on representational art celebrated the beauty of creation and the gifts of the Creator. They showed how the Catholic tradition gathered and conserved the best of the heritage of antiquity and how much its contemporary face was worthy to inspire the highest virtues and the greatest enterprises. To achieve these lofty goals, the teachers explained the effects of time with an educated ingenuity across a panorama of texts, lectures, adornments and images. The faculty members sometimes acted as historians who made present for today the treasures of the past. Sometimes they were the architects of the present moment assuring the transformation and dissemination of pictorial forms and theoretical analyses. Finally, the teachers did not forget their role as confident prophets of the future. By implementing this design, together with their students they built the public image of the Society in the city. They revealed the Society's merits by showing their own artistic skills along side those of their students.

Although we can argue that there really never was a "Jesuit style" in the arts, as Gauvin Bailey asserts,⁵⁰ we cannot deny that there was a

⁴⁹ Ménestrier dedicated numerous works to this representational art and developed his reflection in two major treatises: *La philosophie des images, composée d'un ample recueil de devises*, Lyon, 1682; and *La philosophie des images énigmatiques*, Lyons, 1694.

⁵⁰ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Le style jésuite n'existe pas: Jesuit corporate culture and the visual arts," in John W. O'Malley et al., ed., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999, p. 38–89.

constant connection between the Society and the arts. Countless objects of artistic production emanating from the Jesuits have survived.⁵¹ Artistic projects took many forms. Some were crafted or composed by Jesuits themselves. Others were inspired and commissioned by Jesuits, and although others executed them, they were still sustained, financed and promoted by Jesuits with the help of their friends and protectors. These artistic achievements included church architecture and décor as well as illustrated books of ceremonial display. The most famous of them was the great work published for the centennial of the founding of the Society, the *Imago primi saeculi* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1640).⁵² To the development of representational art and the construction of buildings, we must add the iconography and stage decoration prepared for public festivals and various commemorative ceremonies, such as royal entrances and princely visits to the city, and finally, funeral rites and homage paid to deceased princes and the canonization of Jesuit saints. Nor must we inadvertently forget the writing and staging of plays, often accompanied by musical interludes or dances which were attended by select members of the public.⁵³

The Arts and Public Performance

Theater emerged early on in the colleges. It was already in place in 1554 or 1555 in Messina⁵⁴ and in September 1554 in Vienna, Austria.⁵⁵ The young José de Acosta gave promise of a great future after the staging of two of his tragedies in Medina del Campo, Spain, in 1555 and

⁵¹ A strong case in one province to restore the unity and meaning of Jesuit artistic productions is found in Jeffrey Muller, "Jesuit uses of art in the province of Flanders," in John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, p. 113–156.

⁵² For more on this book, see note 69 below.

⁵³ In the case of Messina, Mario Scaduto in "Le origini dell'Università di Messina," in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 1948, 17, p. 102–159, has already reported six plays written by two teachers and enacted with great success between 1558 and 1569. Scaduto adds that mingled together in the audience were nobles, authorities, educated people and common folk. (p. 140)

⁵⁴ The beginnings of the theater would have been an expansion of the feast for the opening of the school year or *instauratio*. This event marked the resumption of classes according to Gabriel Codina Mir, *op. cit.*, p. 330. Codina Mir follows Mario Scaduto on this point—see note 53 above.

⁵⁵ Jean-Marie Valentin, *op. cit.*, p. 39. On the first repertory performed see the chapter entitled "Naissance d'un théâtre," p. 197–234.

1556.⁵⁶ The college of Billom, France, was founded in 1556, and there was a theater production the following year.⁵⁷ In the same year there was yet another in Lisbon, Portugal.⁵⁸

In the climate of those times, theater was still regarded with some suspicion. Yet itinerant troupes of professional actors began to circulate in various regions despite the opposition of both civil and religious authorities. Some Jesuit theologians participated in the opposition by focusing their criticisms on professional comedians, the presence of women in the casts, the vulgarity of the language and the plots.⁵⁹ Actually, the cultivation of arts of the theater was related to the social milieu of the students, many of whom would later be required to appear at court and take their rank in society. They needed to know how to dance, to make a speech, to introduce themselves and to read in public. They also had to know the social game of emotions and passions with all its dangers and contradictions. The stage was surely a place of a disciplined apprenticeship for what later would be their life in a society after college.⁶⁰ The written accounts of the colleges sent to Rome always spoke of the success of the theatrical endeavor, the size of the crowds and the requests in the area for other performances (requests generally denied). These plays, inspired by bible stories or adapted from ancient litera-

⁵⁶ Polanco records in his *Chronicon* for these two years the great success of these spectacles. See *Monumenta Paedagogica*, vol. 1, 1965, Appendix I, §1127, p. 597 and §2447, p. 611. Concerning the author, see Claudio Burgaleta, *José de Acosta S.J. (1540–1600): His Life and Thought*. Chicago: Loyola Press, 1999.

⁵⁷ For Robert Claysson's account in the *Litterae Quadrimestres* of the college in February 1558, see *Monumenta Paedagogica*, vol. 3, 1974, Monumentum 195, p. 269–271. On the rapid rise of the Jesuit theater in France, its repertory, the location of its performances (in or outside the college) and its scenery, see François de Dainville, *op. cit.*, p. 476–517.

⁵⁸ According to the *Chronicon* of Polanco for the year 1556 which mentions a large crowd with outside spectators, see *Monumenta Paedagogica*, vol. 1, 1965, Appendix, §3180, p. 613.

⁵⁹ Michael Zampelli, "Lascivi Spettacoli: Jesuits and Theatre (from the Underside)," in John W. O'Malley et. al., eds., *The Jesuits II*, p. 550–571.

⁶⁰ As Jean-Marie Valentin wrote, *op. cit.*, p. 84: "If the stage is the site of moral and religious education, it is as much and simultaneously (but not in a different way) the site of aesthetic and social education, and not as a mere alternative." Perhaps that is why the contracts for the foundation of colleges between the municipal officials and the Jesuits in France in the 17th century insisted upon the obligation to organize "oratory, debates and public performance," as pointed out by François de Dainville, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

ture (Greek tragedies, the comedies of Terence or Plautus, for example), sometimes disguised political allusions through allegorical cover, and the professors of the college took turns as authors. With the aid of Jesuit brothers and stage hands, the professors were also the artists who made the sets and props; their students were the actors and dancers, sometimes collaborating with a music or ballet master from outside the college. This was the case at the College Louis-le-Grand in Paris where musical tragedies had a great reputation in the years 1685–1688. In Lyons, Stéphane Van Damme presumes to speak of a “Jesuit monopoly of the theatre.”⁶¹ Through their expertise in theatrical production, the Society gained the reputation in the city as a “body of theatrical and communications specialists.”⁶² Theater was also important for the Society outside Europe, notably in the colleges of Latin America.

Soon the Jesuits combined the publication of a printed commemorative program with their productions. This publication contained a summary of the play, some quotations from it and a list of the actors. The last years of the seventeenth century even saw the publication of complete texts of plays by the more recognized playwrights. Even so most of these plays remained in manuscript form, and most of them have disappeared entirely. Of these all that survives is a title or an allusion to it by a contemporary. The relationship between languages (Latin and the vernaculars) varied according to country and era. Jean-Marie Valentin, a great scholar of Jesuit theater in the German lands, observed that peoples in countries that spoke Romance-languages accepted the use of the vernacular more readily than did those in German-speaking provinces. He supposed that the confrontation with Lutheranism was the reason for this rigidity.⁶³ Most often the professor of rhetoric was instrumental in promoting the theatrical presentations. Some of these professors achieved a genuine fame as playwrights, stage designers or directors. The city often invited them to oversee festival days and civic events. With abundant documentation, the contemporary scholar Giovanna Zanlonghi describes the work of Emanuele Tesauro in organizing the funeral rites for Philip III in Milan in 1621; of Leonardo Velli for the visit in 1633 of the Cardinal-Infante of Spain who was the brother of Philip IV; and of Giovanni Battista Barella for the funeral of Philip IV in

⁶¹ This is the subtitle given to his chapter 4 entitled: “From seeing to writing” (*op. cit.*, p. 207–256.)

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁶³ Jean-Marie Valentin, *op. cit.*, p. 125–126.

1665.⁶⁴ Stéphane Van Damme notes that in Lyons Ménestrier organized the ceremony for the visit of Louis XIV in 1658, when he came to negotiate his future marriage. Again in 1664 Ménestrier performed the same services for the entrance of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, the papal legate; and in Chambéry in 1663 for the wedding of the duke of Savoy.⁶⁵ Other Jesuits engaged in similar activities in Antwerp and Munich.⁶⁶

Symbolic Arts and Liturgy

The presentation of emblems and the painted posters (*affixiones*) associated with them occurred once or twice a year at an exposition in the college where they were proudly shown to visitors from the city. The texts were written by the students of rhetoric and poetics in a competition on a given theme. The best results were often selected and translated into visual form by professional artists. This practice seems to have begun rather early, in parallel to the development of the theater. In his capacity as visitor to the Province of Portugal in 1561, Jerome Nadal (1507–1580) issued instructions in Spanish explaining how to proceed with the composition of “dialogues, comedies or tragedies, verse, speeches, etc.” and how to organize a competition among students who would have to write riddles and to declaim in public the texts they composed.⁶⁷

The majority of the *affixiones* have disappeared, simply because of their fragile material and the destruction that followed the Suppression of the Old Society. The fortunate preservation of a series dating from the seventeenth century in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique in Brussels provides a glimpse of this elaborate and cultured artistic program

⁶⁴ Giovanna Zanlonghi, *Teatri di formazione. Actio, parola e immagine nella scena gesuitica del Sei-Settecento a Milano*. Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2002, p. 17–130 and 175–193. This work offers deeper reflection on the meaning of Jesuit theater.

⁶⁵ Stéphane Van Damme, *op. cit.*, p. 242–245. Ménestrier was also associated in 1683 with the funeral rites of Henri II de Bourbon-Condé in the Jesuit church of Paris; *ibid.*, p. 140–141.

⁶⁶ For the “Munich Festivals (1568–1597),” see Jean-Marie Valentin, *op. cit.*, p. 235–268.

⁶⁷ See *Monumenta Paedagogica*, vol. 3, 1974, Monumentum 152, p. 64–66. The *Ratio Studiorum* composed in 1564–1565 by Diego de Ledesma, prefect of studies at the Collegio Romano, speaks explicitly of posting once a year on high quality paper and in beautiful calligraphy the best texts of students and professors. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 1974, Monumentum 76, chapter 19, p. 551–552.

of the colleges.⁶⁸ The emblems assembled by some of the teachers were gathered into books of illustrations, some of which have had great success. The best known collection is the *Pia Desideria* (Antwerp, 1624) by Herman Hugo (1588–1629) at one time prefect of studies at the college of Brussels. Nearly forty editions of this book appeared in Latin, and there were many more translations and adaptations. Jesuits in the Spanish Netherlands were particularly active in this literary genre. After Antwerp, the principal centers for this type of literature were Cologne and Munich in Germany, and Paris.⁶⁹ Originally composed in Latin and later in the vernaculars, these collections often concerned the spiritual life. According to the felicitous expression of Jean-Marc Chatelain, emblem books were books “to read so as to believe” (*lire pour croire*).⁷⁰ They stimulated and sustained meditation by their concise and enigmatic wording, and their way of arranging images resonated with the Ignatian “composition of place.” A more elementary version of emblem books moved close to being variations on the illustrated catechisms that the Jesuits created for small children, for the Amerindians, and for use on the rural missions.

The college church was also a place to display a whole artistic program in forms using local materials and adapted to local custom.⁷¹ This

⁶⁸ Karel Porteman, *Emblematic Exhibitions (affixiones) at the Brussels Jesuit College (1630–1685)*. Turnhout: Brepols; and Brussels: Royal Library of Belgium, 1996.

⁶⁹ See John Manning and Marc Van Vaecck, eds., *The Jesuits and the Emblem Tradition*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999; esp. the chapter by Lynette C. Black, p. 233–247 on the subject of a French translation of the *Pia Desideria* (*Pieux désirs*) (Antwerp: 1627) and the chapter of Peter M. Daly, p. 249–278, which lists the Flemish-Belgian output up to 1700; also on Hugo (p. 253–255). In his chapter (p. 279–295) G. Richard Dimler considers the *Imago primi saeculi* of 1640 with its 126 emblems as “the quintessential Jesuit emblem book” (p. 279). Dimler summarizes the criticisms of Jakob Masen (1606–1681) found in his *Speculum Imaginum* (Cologne, 1644). Masen was a German Jesuit playwright and longtime teacher in Münster and Cologne. On German productivity in this field see Peter M. Daly et al., eds., *Emblematik und Kunst der Jesuiten in Bayern: Einfluss und Wirkung*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000. For England see Karl-Josef Höltingen, “Henry Hawkins: A Jesuit writer and emblematiser in Stuart England,” in John W. O’Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits*, p. 600–626.

⁷⁰ Jean-Marc Chatelain, “Lire pour croire: mise en texte de l’emblème et art de méditer au XVII^e siècle,” in *Bibliothèque de l’École de Chartes*, 1992, 150, p. 321–351.

⁷¹ Some examples include Luc Francis Genicot et al., “L’ancienne église Saint-Ignace, actuellement Saint-Loup à Namur, son mobilier et son college,” in

program was sustained by often elegant and sophisticated architecture, which included the decor of the interior (elegant floor and wall décor, paintings, statues, and sculpted wood furnishings) and the statues and other images on the exterior.⁷² The program was consonant with the various liturgical celebrations that took place in the church.

From the beginnings of the Society the use of music in liturgies was the object of contradictory directives, which were followed in different degrees and had different consequences depending on time and place.⁷³ On this point the Society was motivated by the desire for simplicity and good use of its manpower resources, which was consistent with its initial refusal to chant the Divine Office in choir. The current baroque style, however, exercised a growing pressure on the Society against its initial insistence on simplicity. This pressure was reinforced by the social milieu of its students and the splendor that the Society was tempted to bring to its presence in the cities.

Normally on Saturdays or Sundays, either in church or in a meeting hall in the school, the students presented some catechetical sessions as little skits and short speeches, to which the families with other guests and the public at large were invited.⁷⁴ The college church, sometimes a superb edifice like Saint Michael in Munich, was always a place of contact between the college community and the city. The fame of Jesuit preachers also drew many of the faithful to the college church, much to the discontent and at times the complaint of the local clergy.

Les Jésuites à Namur 1610–1773. Namur: Presses universitaires de Namur, 1991, p. 97–250; Michel Schmitt, "L'architecture de l'église des jésuites à Luxembourg dans son contexte religieux et régional," in Josy Birsens, ed., *op. cit.*, p. 107–113; Johannes Terhalle, ". . . ha della Grandezza de padri Gesuiti. Die Architektur der Jesuiten um 1600 und St. Michael in München," in Reinhold Baumstark, ed., *Rom in Bayern. Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten*. Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum et Hirmer Verlag, 1997, p. 83–146.

⁷² For the colleges of Coimbra and Lisbon in Portugal, of Funchal at Madeira, see Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "Art in the service of God: The impact of the Society of Jesus on the decorative arts in Portugal," in John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits II*, p. 182–210.

⁷³ David Crook, "A certain indulgence: Music at the Jesuit College in Paris, 1575–1590," in John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits II*, p. 454–478.

⁷⁴ Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "The art of salvation in Bavaria," in John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits*, p. 568–599, esp. 573–574.

III. Centers of Spirituality

The third function of the college was as a place to stimulate faith and devotion. This is of course no surprise. The *Ratio studiorum* of 1599, tells us that included in the education of the students was training in piety and "Christian doctrine," i.e., catechism.⁷⁵ Biblical quotations and references, representations and commentaries on the great events of salvation history, devotional readings and spiritual direction—all had their place in the college, and they were coordinated with learning and the arts, the two functions described above. This third function inspired the theological writings of some professors, the literary production of Jesuit confessors and preachers, the theater scenarios, the rhetorical orations, the imagery of emblems, and the décor of the churches.

Besides all that, two specific institutions contributed to promoting religious devotion. The first were the Sodalities of Our Lady, also known as Marian Congregations. These organizations were originally designed for students but later were extended to reach a wide range of social groups in the city. Their founding and structure is attributed to a young Belgian Jesuit from Liège named Jean Leunis (or Léon), (1532–1584). In 1563 he taught the first year of grammar at the Collegio Romano, where he founded the first of these Sodalities.⁷⁶ He later imported his innovation into France, where he spent time in the colleges of Paris, Billom, and Lyons. His work was continued and augmented by Frans De Cos-

⁷⁵ Manuel Ruiz Jurado, "La formazione e l'influsso spirituale del collegio della Compagnia di Gesù," in Filippo Iappelli and Ulderico Parente, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 149–165.

⁷⁶ The *Litterae semestres* from Rome witness to the early existence of a Marian Sodality at the Collegio Romano. In 1563 Thomas Raggius wrote a letter to the whole Society explaining the Sodality's purpose and function and its good results. (Thomas Raggius, 30 June 1563, Italian text in Polanco, *Complementa*, vol. 1, Letter 80, p. 375). Again the following year Prosper Malavolta wrote another letter. (Prosper Malavolta to the whole Society, 14 July 1564, Latin text in *ibid.*, Letter 104, p. 470–471). Without negating the role of Leunis at the Collegio Romano, Émile Villaret in "Les premières origines des congrégations mariales dans la Compagnie de Jésus," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 1937, 6, p. 25–57) reports of "some sketches or rough drafts for future Sodalities" in different parts of the Society (p. 26). For Valladolid in Spain in 1563 and in various Italian cities (Ferrara, Florence, Messina, Naples, Padua, Palermo, Perugia and Venice, etc.) starting in 1554 for the oldest one of them. These pious organizations sometimes gathered together the students of the college or sometimes the adults from the city.

tere (Costerus) (1532–1619), a native of Malines in Belgium. De Costere was professor at the college in Cologne and then served as rector in Douay and Bruges.⁷⁷ To him we owe a “true handbook of the Christian life,”⁷⁸ intended for members of the Sodalities. This *Libellus sodalitatis* (Cologne, 1586) was often reprinted, translated, and adapted. De Costere participated in the preparation of the *Ratio studiorum* as a member of a commission of twelve members that was designated during the Fourth General Congregation, 1581, to draw up a “plan of studies.” Nothing came of this attempt.⁷⁹ Nonetheless the first actualized version of the *Ratio*, 1586, mentions the “Sodality of the Annunciation of Mary” in a directive to establish it in all the schools in imitation of the original one in the Collegio Romano. The purpose was to spread “the sweet odor of our schools to the whole city.”⁸⁰ In the definitive version, 1599, the Sodality was again referred to, and the rector himself was required to see to its establishment in the college.⁸¹

The *Ratio* adds that in principle only members of the Sodality could be admitted to the “academy,” which was a kind of special institute added into each cycle of studies for the better students. The academy promoted the students’ scholastic interests and talents and offered

⁷⁷ Jean-François Gilmont, *Les écrits spirituels des premiers jésuites. Inventaire commenté*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1961, p. 302–308.

⁷⁸ Joseph de Guibert, *La spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus. Esquisse historique*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1953, p. 199.

⁷⁹ Gathered after the death of Mercurian to elect a successor (Claudio Aquaviva), the Congregation wished to reply to the insistent requests made by many provincial congregations. Ladislaus Lukács presumes that the difficulty of the job and the lack of time explain the failure of the commission. In any event we know nothing about these works. See Lukács’ “Introductio,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica*, vol. 5, 1986, p. 10. Among the other members of the commission besides De Costere we see Pedro da Fonseca, Juan de Maldonado, Achille Gagliardi, and others. The Latin text of the decree is found in *Monumenta Paedagogica*, vol. 7, 1992, Monumentum 34, p. 293. The English translation is found in John W. Padberg et al., eds., *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations*. St. Louis, Missouri: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994, The Fourth General Congregation, Decree 31, p. 176.

⁸⁰ “. . . et nostrarum scholarum bonum odorem in totam plane civitatem diffundit.” *Monumenta Paedagogica*, vol. 5, 1986, *Ratio* of 1599, p. 143.

⁸¹ See the Rules for the Rector in the *Ratio* of 1599. Latin text in *Monumenta Paedagogica* vol. 5, 1986, p. 372. French translation in Adrien Demoustier and Dominique Julia, eds., *Ratio studiorum. Plan raisonné et institution des études dans la Compagnie de Jésus*. Paris: Belin, 1997, p. 95.

them program enrichments. The academy also usually provided for the teaching of some subjects that were of interest only to a small number of advanced students.⁸² At the Collegio Romano under the inspiration of Christoph Clavius the academies of mathematics were after 1580 the principal instrument for scientific development there. These academies were designed to assure a place for the discipline in the colleges and to prepare future teachers for it.⁸³

Members of the academies and Sodalities comprised an elite echelon in the college and were the object of special attention on the part of the faculty. A prefect was assigned to each of these two groups. For the academies, the prefect was always a Jesuit, whereas for the Sodalities he was always a student chosen by his peers for the cohesion of the group. The student, however, was under the supervision of a Jesuit director.

Except on class days members of the Sodalities took part in apostolic and religious activities in the city and environs—catechism classes for young children, performances of skits from Bible stories or lives of the saints, recitation of prayers in front of religious statues, especially of their patron, the Virgin Mary, participation in processions, and other manifestations of religious instruction and devotion. Louis Châtellier, who studied this movement carefully, encountered evidence of its brilliant success across Europe. The movement expanded beyond the students in the colleges to other social groups, and it became one of the principal apostolic instruments of the Jesuits in the cities.⁸⁴ By 1576 in Cologne and by 1584 in Munich there were Sodalities for adults outside the colleges, a pattern that soon was repeated everywhere the Jesuits were present in any numbers.

After 1590 there was a progressive alignment of the Sodalities according to social status and state of life. Some remained attached to the Jesuits of the college, and others were directed from the Professed Houses. There were Sodalities for the Messieurs (noblemen or bourgeois). Oth-

⁸² Six sets of Rules govern three kinds of academies each with its respective prefect. One academy is for theologians and philosophers, the second is for rhetoricians and humanists, and the third is for grammarians. Latin text in *Monumenta Paedagogica*, vol. 5, 1986, *Ratio* of 1599, p. 448–454. French translation in Adrien Demoustier and Dominique Julia, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 204–215.

⁸³ Antonella Romano, *La Contre-Réforme mathématique*, p. 102–110.

⁸⁴ Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots*. Paris: Flammarion, 1987. Also by Louis Châtellier, "Les jésuites et l'ordre social," in Luce Giard and Louis de Vaucelles, eds., *Les jésuites à l'âge baroque (1540–1640)*. Grenoble: Jérôme Millon, 1996, p. 143–154. Also Joseph de Guibert, *op. cit.*, p. 286–292.

er Sodalities for professional artisans were later divided into groups of full trade-masters and associates. They broadened their network from city to city and took the lead in charitable and social work within the cities. In 1609 a professor of theology at the college at Naples, Francesco Pavone (1568–1637), founded an academy of biblical study for priests. Two years later he transformed it into a Sodality “for the reform of the clergy.” This movement had a great influence in the diocese of Naples and was imitated in other areas of Italy.⁸⁵

Whether in gatherings of students or adults, the Sodality had its own collection of devotional literature. For Sodality purposes Jesuits produced spiritual publications in a variety of genres.⁸⁶ In the middle of the seventeenth century the Major Sodality adopted the custom of producing a New Year book (*livre d'étrennes*) each year, which was distributed to all the members. In large cities the Sodalities often met in a separate building of their own where the meetings took place and where the members had their own chapel. In other places the members gathered in the church of the local college.⁸⁷ In France and Germany the Sodalities of the Messieurs organized the social elite around the local Catholic prince and contributed to the effort to rebuild a united and deeply religious community in the aftermath of the rupture of the Reformation.⁸⁸ Everywhere the members of the Sodalities participated in processions, pilgrimages, devotions to the saints and especially to

⁸⁵Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots*, p. 85 and 87 and 89. Also Joseph de Guibert, *op. cit.*, p. 289 and 320–321. The works of Pavone appear in Ignacio Iparraguirre, *Répertoire de spiritualité ignatienne de la mort de S. Ignace à celle du P. Aquaviva (1556–1615)*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1961, List p. 202.

⁸⁶Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots*, p. 99. Also Joseph de Guibert, *op. cit.*, p. 309 and 329–330.

⁸⁷François de Dainville, *op. cit.*, p. 485–486. Dainville indicates that in the French colleges they often constructed with the support of the city a room large enough to put on their theater presentations. The room was called the “salle des actions” or the “salle des actes.” These rooms also served as meeting places for the sodalists. The rooms were piously decorated in accord with Marian piety.

⁸⁸Louis Châtellier, “Les jésuites et la naissance d’un type: le dévot,” in Geneviève and Guy Demerson et al, eds., *Les jésuites parmi les hommes aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. Clermont-Ferrand: Faculté des lettres de l’Université de Clermont-Ferrand II, 1987, p. 257–264.

the Blessed Virgin, all of which were characteristic of baroque piety, thus promoting the practice of such expressions of devotion and cultivating the taste for them.⁸⁹

Domestic Missions

The second institution for which the Jesuits in the colleges were responsible was the "missions," that is, the pastoral strategy that consisted in a team of Jesuits visiting a specific locality for one or several weeks to implement an intense program of sermons, catechesis, confessions, and communal acts of religious devotion. The missions addressed the particular needs, as for instance of prostitutes or the imprisoned, and especially of Catholics living in small villages or hamlets. By means of his circular letter of May, 1599, Father General Claudio Aquaviva rekindled activity in this apostolate by requiring each Jesuit, no matter what his assignment, to preach at least one such mission each year. This letter marked a revisiting of an apostolate that was especially vigorous in the Society before the founding of the colleges.⁹⁰ The Society surely had already developed missionary activities in old Catholic countries as well as outside of Europe, but Aquaviva's letter gave a renewed impulse to these activities. Soon the missions flourished, and for them the Jesuits developed a style all their own.⁹¹ Moreover, from this time forward the colleges were even more closely interconnected with them. In France, for instance, in the seventeenth century "residences for missionaries" were created to retake lands from the Calvinists. Although each of these residences had its own superior, they were always "attached to the nearest college."⁹² Some Jesuits from the staff of the colleges dedicated con-

⁸⁹ Louis Châtellier, *L'Europe des dévots*, p. 170–171.

⁹⁰ John W. O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 126–127.

⁹¹ For a deepened, incisive and critical reflection on this, see Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza. Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*. Turin: Einaudi, 1996, p. 551–679. A comparative analysis of the "internal mission" with the "foreign missions" is in Paolo Broggio, *Evangelizzare il mondo. Le missioni della Compagnia di Gesù tra Europa e America (secoli XVI–XVII)*. Rome: Carocci, 2004. Relative to the change of direction desired by Aquaviva, see p. 51–58 and 80–84. A description of the ways of proceeding which were retained is in Bernard Dompnier, "La Compagnie de Jésus et la mission de l'intérieur," in Luce Giard and Louis de Vaucelles, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 155–179.

⁹² See the "Introduction" in Pierre Delattre, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 1940, p. xii. This way of doing things seems not to have been imitated in the other European countries. About 1600–1602 in Naples the Provincial Fabio Fabi (1542–1615)

siderable time and energy to the mission apostolate, and sometimes did so with the collaboration of their older students and the members of the Sodalities during the time the college was in recess.

These missions took place over a limited time-period, as indicated, and were carefully prepared. They carried to the outside world in an adapted and simplified form elements of the culture of the college—preaching, dramatized rites and other performances,⁹³ the encouragement of devotion to Mary, assessments of the local social reality, and efforts to reach out to every level of the local population. Thus in Naples in 1601 Girolamo di Alessandro, a professor at the college, founding the Congregation of the Epiphany for the conversion of Muslim slaves, most of whom came from North Africa. In 1603 Aquaviva ordered the Naples college to establish a language academy so that the Jesuit scholastics could be prepared to converse with these slaves in their native languages. The organization of this academy was entrusted to Pier-Antonio Spinelli (1555–1615). Spinelli came from a noble family and was a theologian, but for a very long time he worked with the poor in the city. He was the one who drew attention to this problem of language.⁹⁴ When Spinelli was still a Scholastic, he founded the first Marian Sodality in Naples in 1577. Later he was provincial in Rome (1603–1606) and again in Naples (1606–1609 and 1612–1615). He was also the author of a serious treatise on mariology called *Maria Deipara Thronus Dei* (Naples 1613) and died with a reputation for great sanctity.⁹⁵

was disturbed about the possible weakening of the colleges if the authorities created “houses of missionaries” to which some members of the college community would be assigned. See Jennifer D. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits’ Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited; and Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2004, p. 143–144.

⁹³ See for example Marie-Lucie Copete and Federico Palomar, “Des carêmes après le carême. Stratégies de conversion et fonctions politiques des missions intérieures en Espagne et au Portugal (1540–1650),” in *Revue de synthèse*, special issue, *Les Jésuites dans le monde moderne. Nouvelles approches*, ed. Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Antonella Romano, 120, 4e série, 1999, p. 359–380; esp. p. 366–370. In the case of Naples, see Jennifer D. Selwyn, *op. cit.*, p. 150–155 and 183–185 and 211–242.

⁹⁴ Jennifer D. Selwyn, *op. cit.*, p. 62 and 70–71 and 90–94.

⁹⁵ Spinelli’s works are referred to in Ignacio Iparraguirre, *op. cit.*, List p. 214. Also in Jean-Michel Sallmann, *Naples et ses saints à l’âge baroque (1540–1750)*.

The college was certainly a place for fostering faith, often in ways too difficult for the historian to reconstruct entirely. Among these were the conversations of the faculty with the local inhabitants, confessions, spiritual direction and the giving of the *Spiritual Exercises* to a widening circle of the faithful. This neglected area of study merits more research. Unfortunately, works on this aspect of the subject currently lack an adequate historiography.

A Concluding Comment

The Jesuit philosopher/historian Michel de Certeau (1925–1986) described the ministries of the Society during the generalate of Claudio Aquaviva as having three areas of expression or three vocabularies.⁹⁶ The first, growing out of the humanist heritage and the culture of the baroque era, manifested itself in the pedagogy of the colleges, of which enthusiasm for the theater was an important aspect. It also manifested itself in the pastoral techniques employed in the missions preached in the countryside. It put into circulation a rich repertory of words, images, other sorts of visuals, and practices of representations.

The second category consisted in objective scholarship in the sciences as well as in other erudite disciplines. Jesuits took part in learned debates with their contemporaries and contributed to the advancement of knowledge in a wide variety of areas from astronomy to pharmacology, from classical archeology to the analysis of non-European languages. The life of faith was the third area, which included the language of spirituality. That is to say, a language of greater interiority and, more specifically, of Ignatian inspiration, which was always ready for reformulation so as to be adapted to concrete situations and to new developments within the Society itself.

These three areas of expression, each of which was as rich as the other, undergirded the manifold activities of a Jesuit college. As I have tried to show above, besides instruction, which was its *raison d'être*, a

Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1994, p. 54 and 143.

⁹⁶ Michel de Certeau, "Jésuites. 3. La réforme de l'intérieur au temps d'Aquaviva," in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique*, vol. 8, col. 992. Paris: 1973. The text is also found in his collection *Le Lieu de l'autre. Histoire religieuse et mystique*, by Luce Giard (ed.). Paris: Gallimard and Seuil, 2005, p. 162–163.

college had other functions so as to become a place of erudition and instruction for the town and for the society in which it found itself. It was also a place where a complete artistic program was created and made available to the public, and of course always a place for the nourishing and deepening of faith.

The Society was not founded as a teaching order, but once it committed itself to the educational apostolate, it developed a certain model of school and made it function with great success on a grand scale that was not confined to a narrow and limited conception of what teaching was all about. The Society knew how to be attentive to the social realities of the town. It knew how to find a number of ways to assure "the help of souls," and to fulfill what I have called "le devoir d'intelligence," a dutiful regard for the intellect, beyond the walls of the school, thanks to the talent, the energy, and the good will of those within the walls.

Professors, staff in charge of the managing of the school, Jesuit scholastics, and students were all committed, in varying degrees, to disseminating knowledge, art and theatrical performance, and religious devotion to the world outside the school. In their turn, these activities *ad extra* contributed to the success of the educational system *ad intra*. The teachers and students were thus able to adapt the content of the text-based culture of the school to concrete circumstances, to test the three areas of expression, to refine their perceptions of the diversity of social realities, and to affirm their own identity as believers. These are the exchanges between the inside and the outside of the educational institution that sustained it and made it impressive over the long haul.



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